/3 cont./

562 co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy
[583] disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

[842] The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman
[811] in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent, augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been
[797] improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

/55 cont./

881 normally, and above all she will not be worn out by too frequent
278 childbearing, since all these remedies in the long run are made use of to avoid the woman's having these cares, so much so that in the case of the very poor girls sterilization or at least a very limited fecundity is hoped for, because they know that they and their offspring will be practically in the hands of the stronger groups who can easily enslave their sons and daughters and nephews and nieces by the arbitrary and exaggerated use of legal institutions.

Even if the girl enters the Capuchin mission and for this
881 reason does not go through with the initiation in her home, and
278 even if her parents, influenced by the missionaries, decide to
797 forego this custom or are prevented by poverty from holding it, she does not forget -- and her companions back her up -- to take the medicines prescribed even though she does not undergo the regimen of seclusion. During a long period of time -- which shows what value she herself sets on her novitiate -- every morning she takes the juice of herbs which she knows of or which are given to her, to avoid menstruation and to obtain the objectives mentioned above. (In order to clarify further of the significance with respect to maternity in the initiation of young women, we refer the reader to the section Death of the First-born, Chap. I, pp. 10 ff.)

881 The economic aspect which she must learn and which by the perfection and acquisition of new techniques now plays a
286 very important part is that of weaving. The woman during her seclusion improves her knowledge of this trade, which she began to learn during her prepubertal period. This matter has so much importance that in cases where a girl has been abducted and her maternal relatives present their claim for compensation payment, the man can refuse to buy her, alleging she is not able to weave. Furthermore, the woman by weaving earns money for the support of the home which is in her care. She must also supply her kin, including her husband, with guayucos /loincloths/, saddle blankets /pellones/, and other woven necessities.

/174 cont./

614 422 personal property are marked with letters, especially such items as clay and gourd vessels and parts of the harness of riding animals and their hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/.

614 551 3. Naming. According to mythology, every clan had its personal name given to it by Mareiwa directly or was inspired by him. It covers all the individuals belonging to the same clan and is the indication of blood relationship. Clan disintegration at the present time has made it necessary to add to this generic name the name of the locality and the name of the most outstanding family head (cacique).

At the present time a Guajiro individual feels that in spite of being linked to another by an identical name he is not a relative /of that person/, and he makes a distinction within the same clan of diverse groups with more or less prestige. However, at a time when attacked by another group, they may make /175/ common cause if their co-operation is needed. [197] Furthermore, the introduction of the Catholic marriage has given equal value to naming by using the paternal surname followed by the maternal surname, although in a stage of transition the second of these has greater value.

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614 602 4. Consanguinity. Consanguinity plays an important role in the Guajiro concept of kinship, which embraces all individuals joined in a chain through common female ascendants, that is, uterine kinship. In this way they set aside the paternal branch, which may be found in opposition and enmity, because in the Guajiro mentality the father-son biological bond, although it exists, does not count in determining kinship. The common tie that embraces all the individuals of a clan is the mother's blood in the biological act and in the process of gestation. From this premise the Guajiro derives the importance of the spilling of blood through themselves or outsiders, because it represents the destruction of the kinship tie and of the vital element. This valuation is the outstanding concept in the regimen for social stability in the culture.

/176 cont./

178 602 614 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exercise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kinship between all its members has relaxed to the point that consanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

178 797 602 614 Another change in the concept of kinship has been introduced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 614 582 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous. Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

614 423 178 6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

[39 cont.]

105 175 177 But the Conquest came. The Guajiro Indian kept his independence by means of wars and raids and maintained his personality intact as far as possible. His internal organization endured and continued manifesting itself without changes for a time; family organization, bond service, slavery, interclan wars, the laws of inheritance and compensation payment, all the social structure, including marriage, continued in the traditional forms. However, the theft of livestock from the neighboring Spanish ranches began, and the Guajiro Indians learned to master the art of stock grazing until they became converted into a group of herders with occasional agriculture, hunting, and fishing.

The situation was thus undergoing a change apparently gentle in the form it took, but violent in the results it produced on marriage, inheritance, the status of the clan as a collectivity and of the individual in particular, which we attribute to the cause just noted and also to the acculturation provoked by the ever increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula: missionaries, military men, employees, traders, and adventurers, who have managed to introduce, as we have said in the introduction, a number of customs from their places of origin, still small [in number] but which slowly are beginning to undermine the social organization of the natives.

177 +756 [747] All this has clashed with the strongest institution of primitive La Guajira, the shaman, who has had to withstand the challenge of the missionaries, who inculcate in the Indians' minds Catholic beliefs or Christian beliefs in general, absolutely opposed to the primary animism and the magic laws which determined, and still determine, in part the acts, lives, and deaths in general of all and each one of the members of the Guajiro community.

The new concept of wealth based on stock grazing, the presence of civilizado elements, the network of communications that now crosses the peninsula, the decisive action of the missionaries and schools have all combined to reduce the shaman to his minimum proportions. Of course, there still remain elements in the native which allow one to classify him as framed by a magic mentality, but external influences are carrying him

[46 cont.]
411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurfra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurfra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy; he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept. The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú, and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the dead — the devil, according to all writers and even to the natives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayá, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niá, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from surú or hurú (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

The relation sickness — death — spirit, which will later be the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American

[74 cont.]

he is the witch and curer of the tribe, as we learn from the Mother Superior's writings, a wizard whose supernatural powers place him at the peak of the social pyramid. This jaibaná is none other than an individual who has by himself and for himself absorbed the power of the spirits — of the dead — and who by this is able to carry out the same functions as they are capable of, that is, he can do evil or good as the fancy takes him. For this reason "when some illness suddenly attacks the Indians they say they are bewitched, and they point to the person from whom they have received the injury. They dream persistently of a certain jaibaná and that he observes them with a grim, severe look or that he lies in ambush for them armed with spears or guns, and from this they assume that the doctor of whom they dream is he who has bewitched them." (53) In this case it is

53. Ibid., p. 151.

therefore the jaibaná, ("collection of sicknesses," according to the etymology) who, taking advantage of his power both to absorb and dominate the spirits, goes about among the Indians causing them harm and also [75] curing them when sick people go to him in search of help. Again we meet with this duality which we have already pointed out regarding the spirits of the dead (friends — enemies) and which we showed in the previous chapter, "Sickness and Medicine," in regard to spirits in general, as well as animals.

Among the Chibcha Colombian Indians of the savannas of Cundinamarca, we also find a linguistic and conceptual correspondence between devil and death. In our opinion, among primitives there does not exist, or did not exist among the American aborigines before the Conquest, the concept of devil as such, but only of a spirit of evil which, although it may possess some similarity to the devil of our Catholic religion differs in many aspects from it. From all that we have been able to observe, the idea of the devil among the American primitives, introduced no doubt after the Conquest by Catholic missionaries, corresponds more to an entity, spiritual it is true and capable of

[75 cont.]

doing good or evil, but always a physical evil, not a spiritual one as done by the devil as conceived in the Catholic religion. Also, according to our observations, this same spirit of the primitives is none other than the spirit of the dead, of their ancestors, inhabitants of the "other world," an unreal world that is not directly tangible, or at least not completely so, to the senses but real in the conception, in the faith and beliefs of the primitives. This last characteristic of the American aborigines' demonic spirits, confused with the dead, separates them formally and conceptually from the idea of the devil as understood in Catholicism.

Returning to the Chibcha tribe of the savannas, we find that one of the words that their dialect uses to describe a dead person is guajaia (we retain the author's spelling), and the word for "devil" is guaioque. We can attempt to split up the second word in the following way: guaia, que. This last particle that we have split off has the sense of "strong," "vigorous." Thus, by splitting up guaioque — translated as "devil" by the different writers on the Chibcha language of Cundinamarca — would really have the meaning of "powerful dead one." (54) We could

54. The linguistic notes have been taken from two works: El Idioma Chibcha o aborigen de Cundinamarca [The Chibcha or Aboriginal Language of Cundinamarca] by J. Acosta Ortegoñ and Gramática, Vocabulario, Catecismo i Confesionario de la lengua Chibcha [Grammar, Vocabulary, Catechism, and Confessional of the Chibcha Language] by Ezequiel Uricoechea.

include many other quotations to corroborate our statement, but, as we have mentioned, we reserve [76] these for a separate work. We only wish to expound our general theory for the better understanding of this study. It is sufficient then for us once again to affirm that death, sickness, spirit (devil), and even medicine man are all concepts that belong to one and the same ideological circle, totally imbued with the spiritualistic content of magic related to the soul of the dead.

VII

Other Aspects of Magic

551 689 The name in magic. "The prohibition against uttering a dead person's name generally is quite rigidly obeyed. Certain South American tribes consider that to pronounce the name of a dead person in the presence of his living relatives is to inflict on them a serious offense, and they apply to the offender a penalty no less rigorous than that assigned to a murder . . . ," says Freud (63), and the Guajiro is typical in this respect. Let us see

63. Freud. Totem y Tabú.

one by one the rituals followed with respect to the dead person's name when a death occurs in their community.

[553] It is imperative that every other person who bears the same name as the deceased should change it. This is done to avoid pronouncing that name in the presence of any of the dead man's relatives, because if this should happen the relatives are entitled to present a claim for compensation payment for the offense. The family considers that by mentioning the name of their deceased relative, the offender has renewed all the painful sorrow which they suffered at his death.

551 This change of names among those who are namesakes of a dead man is made for life and extends geographically over all the zone inhabited by the dead man's relatives and causes the same person at times to have different names. It is, at least, one of the reasons.

[177] 197 At the present time it is common among the natives for every person to have three names: one Spanish, taken from the list of saints and given him by the priest at his baptism; a family nickname, by which he is generally known and which almost always refers to a distinctive physical or spiritual quality; and a third, intimate name, a secret for the majority of people and only known by its owner and some members of his family.

[689] The personal name of the individual should never be pronounced by anyone but his close relatives. Whoever should

[112 cont.]

787 825 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them. 797 628

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 132 133 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena. 789

789 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in 756

[131 cont.]
summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

[141 cont.]

an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arĩjuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayũ ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

[142 cont.]
what God can do for them," phrases which the Guajiro translates in this way: "Nuchúntaca guayú numuín Maléigua 'Pumúliaja guayú.' Je natújain au tu náinjecta nau Maléigua." (69)

69. Carcagente. Guía Goajiro [Guajiro Guide], pp. 18-19. The italics are ours.

The Protestant missionaries, on their part, published in Guajiro and in Spanish a version of the Gospel of Saint Mark throughout which the word "God" is represented in Guajiro by the word "Mareiwa" (70).

70. Máruko: Cf. Bibliography.

Father José Agustín de Barranquilla, a Capuchin missionary who traveled widely through the greater part of Guajiro territory on an evangelistic mission and collected his impressions in a book, when speaking of the qualities and moral defects of the Guajiro, uses the following terms: "He is monotheist, that is, he believes in only one Supreme Being called Mareigua (God) ... he has something similar to the devil which he calls Yarujá or Yolujá..." (71)

71. Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira [This is La Guajira], II, 57.

And further along he adds: "The Guajiro is not like other Indians, idolatrous, because vestiges have never been found among all the Guajiro antiquities either of idols that they worshiped in times past or traditions that show at any time their connection with idolatry, except for certain insignificant talismans of a domestic and family nature which they considered could render them service. They never practiced any cult rendering homage to the sun, moon, or any other visible thing. The Guajiro attributes everything good that occurs in this world to Merigua (God). Mareigua is always good, never evil. He it was that created the world and all visible things. He alone. He is invisible

[143 cont.]

seems to be true, in a certain way, for those who are imbued with Christian religious practices, because when they refer to our God, to Jesus Christ, they call him Mareiwa. But at the bottom of their minds, in our opinion, there is some distinction which is precisely what we shall try to explain.

When we spoke of the shaman, we referred extensively to his protector spirits, the real healers of sickness, of whom the shaman is no more than an intermediary. Naturally, we also spoke, in that chapter and in the one relating to sickness, of the evil spirits, the malignant ones, the cause of the trouble, known by the generic name of wanurú, and we explained how the first are, in general, the spirits of dead shamans who have disappeared but continue to exercise their functions for the benefit of the community, while the wanurú are also spirits of dead people who satisfy their personal vengeances, revenge themselves for disrespect shown them in their status after death, or are simply dangerous because of the circumstances of their death, as in the case of suicides. [144]

In addition to the spirits of sickness and death, there is another named yo-ru-já, difficult to describe and whose functions are difficult to delineate. We only know that he is magnificently malevolent and that it is he, the complete opposite of Mareiwa (God) that has been named "demon" or "devil" by missionaries, writers, etc.

Regarding the previous statement, we have several quotations that confirm it: "Yoluhá is the demon in the simple Guajiro theogony. As with god, it is scarcely a concept, a word that represents the forces of destruction and, at the same time, of power, since it is even used by the shaman when he is foretelling the future. "What does the devil say (Jamúseneik Yolujá)?" is the question the diviner asks. The Guajiro demon is not, therefore, like the Christian devil, the opposite of God, because in addition to wickedness and destruction it also embraces the concept of power and divination." (75)

75. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 50.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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not far from the mission station. Ituhor means 'roast corn' and it does look like a dark golden brown giant corn-cob. Suddenly we were in a valley that was all green. We had to rub our eyes. Not only grass grew there, but tall trees with fresh green leaves. The crests of coconut palms waved high above them. We saw bananas, maize, and all sorts of fruit trees. What a miracle! The cause of it was a little stream that had water in it almost all the year round, though it petered out in sand on its way to the sea. We enjoyed the greenery, the smells and the bird song, and watched the multi-coloured butterflies. The valley was not inhabited; it was a field. After that we came to more white sand, where everything was just as arid as before.

Nazaret lay in the middle of this sea of sand. Ahead of us we saw some whitewashed buildings with grass roofs and one larger building with a turret. A monk came walking briskly to greet us, his white beard waving in the breeze. This was Father Salvador, whom we knew from a trip we had made farther south five years before. He had then been stationed at the foot of the Andes and his flowing beard had been brown. How old he had grown! The desert seemed to have aged him by twenty years at least, we thought. Then the other monks emerged and friendly nuns took charge of my wife.

We had good, sweet water, decent food and black coffee. The kindly fathers at once set about preparing a white-washed hut for us. They wanted us to stay for some time, make Nazaret our headquarters, from which we could go to the Indian camps in the surrounding country, which we would thus get to know. They would also find us good guides.

Then our Indians arrived with our baggage. We paid them and dismissed them. We could not help laughing when Gaffer insisted that he could be of great use to us as a guide, for he had neither been there before, nor even been able to find his way there. His old wife had taken advantage of our absence to appropriate a number of our things, including an aluminium saucepan. This came to light because her pack looked suspiciously bulky and had to be searched, to her

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 5

Slaves and Slave-dealers

WE had expected lush green valleys and thus the mission station lying on its terrace of sand was to some extent a disappointment. There was greenery in the area, as we knew from having passed it on the way, but it was quite far off and one had to wade laboriously through deep sand to reach it.

Those green valleys could be called oases. Nazaret, perhaps, was the one relatively peaceful place on the whole peninsula. The Indians respected the monks, who were kindly, understanding, civilized people. Nazaret was a fixed point and the only place where we could set up a headquarters from which to make excursions of varying length; otherwise we would have to travel and keep travelling all the time we were in Guajira. There were supplies of food there and drinking water. They had a rainwater cistern and also a casimba with clear water that never seemed to run dry. It had cost them a lot of labour and effort to erect the buildings there. All the materials had been brought by pack-donkey from Puerto Estrella, to which it was taken in schooners. Maize, sugar and other such provisions still had to be fetched the same way. They were not always able to get meat from the Indians. Once it was nearly three months before they could replenish their larder. They had great difficulty in protecting things from ants, which were as numerous there as everywhere in tropical South America, to say nothing of other noxious creatures.

The monks and nuns together looked after two hundred Indian children, and their support was not to be hazarded. The Capuchins always concentrate on the children, whom

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797 736 they take into boarding schools, so-called *orfelinatos*. It was not difficult to get children for these schools there. Many poor families voluntarily hand their children over in hard times, when they cannot support them themselves. Others sell them for a quantity of maize. If the mission did not buy them, some well-to-do chief would, and they [567] would become slaves. The monks did not always know whether a child offered them was stolen or not.

Well-to-do Indians also liked to send their children to Nazaret to learn Spanish and other useful things. These, however, often became more Indian than the Indians once they left the school. We met a few who refused to remember their Spanish and who appeared to be quite uninfluenced by the monks. This evident reaction against civilization was due, perhaps, to the strictly ordered life of the school.

The poor children had to stay there always. Some of them worked in a cotton plantation which the monks had started in order to help the mission's finances. There were already one or two married couples. They were not considered proper Indians, because the men wore trousers.

584 797 A Guajiro girl is normally not allowed to choose her husband. Her family does that. Thus, if the monks and nuns decided which pupil was to marry which, it amounted to the same thing. The monks, of course, did not get a bride-price, nor did the bridegroom often receive his morning-gift that traditionally consists of ornaments and clothing.

797 Why had they built the mission station just at that spot, where it was so difficult to maintain it? The choice had been dictated mainly by the monks' desire to try and save children and others from being sold as slaves. Also there was water and it was near a harbour.

567 Do people really traffic in slaves in our day? Yes, slavery still exists. In Guajira, the traffic increases whenever there is a drought and times are bad. It has always gone through Castilletes on the south coast, which lies just where the frontier between Colombia and Venezuela reaches the sea. The slaves are sold to Venezuela, which is also more accessible for that part of the peninsula.

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which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves to violation of the dead, and said that they would only treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. They received a special grant from the government of Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

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and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in the western low country, were usually accounted the centre of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

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The eldest monk at the station, Father Crispin, had a lot to tell us of the slave trade and of his travels on the peninsula.

The monks and nuns live in a state of constant nervous tension. That saps their strength, as does the constant anxiety about supplies, the heat and the monotonous diet: goat's meat, maize and dried fish.

'You age quickly here,' said Father Salvador, who was himself proof of that.

We attended mass in the primitive little church there. Father Salvador preached with true Spanish eloquence. He was said to have been an officer in a crack regiment, and sometimes when he gave orders to the Indian boys, you could see that that was so. There, in the dark little mud church, he preached a sermon that only a few understood, but a crowd of Indian children knelt and listened and some half-naked grown-ups watched inquisitively from the door, as did three heretics from the distant north.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[55] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[747] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serrania Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[436] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[736 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

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171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 773 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797] [191] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

796 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the